

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 150529  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-11 IO-13 ISO-00 SIG-03 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 OMB-01 /104 R

DRAFTED BY AF/I:LGSHURTLEFF/AF/C:LDJUNIOR  
APPROVED BY AF:WCHARROP

-----047187 140405Z /14

P R 140206Z JUN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY BANGUI  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 150529

PARIS ALSO FOR SECRETARY AND MOOSE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, PINS, GC

SUBJECT: AFRICAN TROOPS IN SHABA  
REF:PREVIOUS CABLE

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: FOLLOWING REVIEWS THE STATE OF PLAY REGARDING OUR EFFORTS TO ASSIST IN THE REPLACEMENT OF AFRICAN TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT IN SHABA AND ASKS FOR YOUR IDEAS ON HOW BEST TO BEGIN THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS LEADING TO PERIODIC REVIEWS OF THAT OPERATION WITH A VIEW TOWARD ESTABLISHING POSSIBLE AND PROBABLE TIME FRAMES FOR A STANDDOWN. END SUMMARY.

1. OUR COMMITMENT TO LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR THE SHABA OPERATION AMOUNTS TO 55 SORTIES TO MOVE MEN AND EQUIPMENT. THAT COMMITMENT WILL SOON BE MET.

2. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE MADE NO PROMISES BEYOND THESE 55 SORTIES THE FACT IS THAT COMMANDERS IN SHABA, EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WILL LIKELY TURN TO US FOR CONTINUED MATERIAL, FINANCIAL AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED CANNOT ALONE PROVIDE NECESSARY SERVICES AND THAT HAVING PUT THE TROOPS IN PLACE, WE AND THE EUROPEANS HAVE SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING THEM IN SHABA.

3. AT PARIS, THE SUBJECT OF ONGOING SUPPORT FACILITIES WAS RAISED, NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, BUT THE FRENCH ARE WORKING ON THE CONCEPT AND MODALITIES. WE INFORMED THE FRENCH AT THE TIME OF THE PARIS MEETINGS THAT WE WOULD NOT JOIN IN ANY PERMANENT STANDING WORKING GROUP  
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CREATED FOR THE PURPOSE OF SUSTAINING AFRICAN TROOPS IN SHABA, BUT THAT WE WOULD LOOK AT THE SUPPORT NEEDS ESTABLISHED BY SUCH A GROUP.

4. THE MUCH PREFERRED ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE A FIRM POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN KINSHASA AND LUANDA. ABSENT THAT, THERE WOULD BE ADVANTAGES TO ALL CONCERNED WERE THE NON-ZAIRIAN AFRICAN FORCES IN SHABA REPLACED WITH REASONABLE PROMPTITUDE BY COMPETENT FORCES UNDER OAU AEGIS OR BY TRAINED AND DISCIPLINED ZAIRIANS. SINCE WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT ACTION THE OAU MAY TAKE AT KHARTOUM (REFTEL), THIS MESSAGE WILL FOCUS ON THE QUESTION OF ZAIRIAN FORCES.

5. OBVIOUSLY, SUCCESSFUL SUBSTITUTION BY ZAIRIAN TROOPS WOULD DEPEND ON A VARIETY OF FACTORS BEARING ON THE REAL AND PERCEIVED NEEDS FOR SECURITY IN SHABA, PRIMARILY THE RETRAINING (AND RESUPPLY) OF ZAIRIAN TROOPS, THE PROGRESS OF DOMESTIC REFORMS REDUCING THE LEVEL OF DISSIDENCE IN SHABA, AND PROGRESS ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT DESIGNED TO NEUTRALIZE THE KATANGAN

THREAT. GIVEN THE VERY REAL UNCERTAINTIES ON EACH OF THESE (AND OTHER) COUNTS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIX A FUTURE POINT IN TIME WHEN THE SUBSTITUTION COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED.

6. NEVERTHELESS, WE CONSIDER IT NOT UNREASONABLE THAT A PROPERLY DISCIPLINED ZAIRIAN UNIT COULD REPLACE THE OTHER AFRICAN FORCES BY THE END OF THIS YEAR AND THAT A PHASED, UNIT-BY-UNIT SUBSTITUTION COULD BEGIN WELL BEFORE THAT TIME, PERHAPS AS EARLY AS SEPTEMBER. THIS PRE-SUPPOSES A MAJOR TRAINING EFFORT WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE HEADED BY THE BELGIANS AND THE FRENCH, POSSIBLY WITH SOME MATERIEL SUPPORT FROM OUR SIDE. WHETHER THAT ZAIRIAN FORCE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO  
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DETER FURTHER OUTBREAKS IN SHABA AND TO MAINTAIN A SUFFICIENT LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE TO PERMIT A CONTINUED EXPATRIATE EXPERT PRESENCE, WOULD DEPEND IN LARGE PART ON PROGRESS IN TERMS OF ETHNIC RECONCILIATION IN ZAIRE AND OF PROGRESS TOWARD NEUTRALIZING THE KATANGESE. MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE ON BOTH FRONTS, OF COURSE, BUT WORK IS IN PROGRESS.

7. WE WISH TO SET IN MOTION A CONSULTATIVE PROCESS WHICH WILL FOCUS ON THESE PROBLEMS AND ON PROGRESS TOWARD SUBSTITUTION OF ZAIRIANS WITHIN A FINITE AND HOPEFULLY BRIEF PERIOD OF TIME AND TO AGREE ON A TENTATIVE TIME-TABLE FOR TROOP SUBSTITUTION. WE COULD ALSO CONSIDER THE ADVISABILITY OF LIMITING THE MANDATE OF THE SHABA FORCES TO PERHAPS 90 DAYS, SUBJECT TO REVIEW AND TEMPORARY EXTENSION AS REQUIRED.

8. ACTION REQUESTED: WITHOUT APPROACHING HOST GOVERNMENT AT THIS JUNCTURE, WE NEED YOUR IDEAS ON HOW BEST TO BEGIN AND ORGANIZE THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS AIMED AT LIMITING THE DURATION OF THE CURRENT SHABA OPERATION AND YOUR ESTIMATE OF HOST GOVERNMENT REACTION TO THE IDEA. HOW WOULD COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE SHABA OPERATION (AND PERHAPS OTHERS NOT NOW INVOLVED) RESPOND TO A CALL FOR SUCH CONSULTATIONS? CHRISTOPHER

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-03 /007 R

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DRAFTED BY AF/C:LDJUNIOR  
APPROVED BY AF/C:LDJUNIRO  
EUR/WE:BMCKINLEY

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P 142155Z JUN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 150529

FOL RPT STATE 150529 SENT ACTION LONDON, PARIS, BRUSSELS, BONN,  
DAKAR, LOME, BANGUI, RABAT, LIBREVILLE, ABIDJAN, LAGOS, KHARTOUM,  
DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, KINSHASA, GABORONE, MAPUTO, MONROVIA,  
YAOUNDE & BRAZZAVILLE INFO USUN NEW YORK DTD 14 JUN 78

QUOTE: S E C R E T STATE 150529

PARIS ALSO FOR SECRETARY AND MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, PINS, GC

SUBJECT: AFRICAN TROOPS IN SHABA  
REF:PREVIOUS CABLE

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CONSULTATIONS? CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ARMED FORCES, MILITARY EQUIPMENT, MILITARY ASSISTANCE  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, PINS, CG, XA, US  
**To:** LONDON PARIS MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/99643289-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014